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A Strong Socialist Movement Can Defeat 'Class Warfare' Of Reactionaries

By ROBIN MYERS

(Following are excerpts from the report given by national secretary Robin Myers before the twenty-eight convention of the Socialist Party, meeting in Cleveland, May 30, 31 and June 1. A full report of the convention, along with leading resolutions, will be published in the next issue of the SOCIALIST CALL.)

The United States is experiencing an anti-socialist propaganda drive of intensity never before reached. This is part of a general period of reaction. All radical, or even liberal, forces in the United States are weakening. Enthusiasm for new reforms (such as health insurance) has wavered and the campaigns died, and even defensive action has faltered. Anti-Communist hysteria has justified sweeping attacks on civil liberties and created an atmosphere of repression which could have been broken in many places just by speaking out against it. Progress toward racial equality has been met—but not stopped—by terrorism and legalized murder.

The campaign against socialism is, practically speaking, not against socialism at all; nor is it simply anti-Fair Deal. It covers so wide an area, with the appropriate capitalist financing in each specific field, as to appear a coordinated drive against all social welfare measures of government and most public enterprises. It attacks the public education system for which the Jacksonians fought. It would do away with the income tax

amendments which was one of the gains of the Progressive era. It defeated the drive for health insurance which belongs to the future. It attacks public power which aids the farmer, as well as public housing, which is the crying need of the city worker.

The housing campaign is probably the only place where there has been an actual public test of this barrage of propaganda. In city after city, local referenda to make public housing difficult or impossible were carried. In part, this was the product of a whispering campaign against inter-racial housing. But the public, vociferous, campaigning shows the root of the whole crusade. Its favorite slogan, "Why Should You Pay Someone Else's Rent? That's Socialism," won support.

This is straight, old-fashioned economic class warfare—for wealth against welfare. It rejects the idea of public responsibility for the public welfare which has been growing gradually for more than a century, while it accepts the subsidization of wealth: of industries by tax policies, of real estate interests by loan policy, of tariffs, of mail subsidies, of cost plus contracts.

And its unequal access to the means of public communication is creating, through lies and distortions, and analogies, an atmosphere in which socialism, which relies on the understanding participation of the people, may be impossible. It is destroying the greatest asset both of the Socialist Party and of Socialism—the good-will of the

American people.

The political climate of the country is alarming. Mounting sentiment for Eisenhower—without regard to his unknown platform and among both parties—assumes the character of a crusade for the man on horseback. Even the would-be leaders of liberal forces attempt to make themselves acceptable for the presidency by disclaimers against "socialized medicine," deference to states rights as opposed to civil rights, and a middle-of-the-road position which is essentially a surrender to current reaction.

Labor's break with the mobilization program last year led to no new development toward independent political action. And neither the attempt on the Right for a Republican-Southern Bourbon alliance nor on the Left for a progressive political realignment succeeded in breaking through the structure of the two old Parties. A typically American political phenomenon of the last two years was a great moral uprising against corruption in politics, but it took no coherent form, replacing the Party in power with the Party out of power, producing an independent like Impellitteri or one like Halley with equal naivete.

In this political setting, the Socialist Party comes to its national convention with one overwhelming task: to build a socialist movement that can create a socialist America and so progress toward a socialist world.

AFL, CIO Condemn Union-Busting Smith Bill

Leaders of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and independent unions joined last week in condemning the Smith Bill as one of the most dangerous labor yet introduced in Congress.

The Bill, sponsored by Rep. Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia, would amend the National Military Training and Service Act, to enable the administration to seize any plant in which a dispute between workers and plant owners exists, as well as permitting the union itself to be placed under a receivership until a settlement is reached.

The introduction of this measure grew directly out of the seizure of steel plants by the government, some weeks ago. Although Congress was critical of the "seizure" of power practiced on that occasion by the president, reactionary Congressmen have been delighted to introduce measures which would give the executive, Congress, or the means of usurping the power won by labor.

In the steel controversy, the workers, still without the recommendation by the Wage

Stabilization Board, awaited a decision by the Supreme Court as to the ultimate right of the President to seize the industry. Until such a decision is reached, the steel workers cannot press for increases and, if the decision is adverse to the government, the steel workers will be faced with another strike decision.

Discussing the Smith Bill, AFL President William Green said:

"Totalitarianism at its worst could do no more to usurp individual rights, both civil and property. In all my years of service as president of the American Federation of Labor I have seldom seen a more shocking proposal than that contained in the Smith bill."

The AFL president pointed out to the House Committee on Armed Services, in testimony presented by Herbert Thatcher, associate counsel for the AFL, that the means suggested by Smith for handling an industrial dispute "which would in any way imperil the national defense and to assure continuous production" would act drastically against the rights of workers, and in no way affect rights, profits or operation of employers.

The Smith bill would direct

the Attorney General to ask the courts for an injunction. The injunction process, Green declared, could be used indiscriminately against the labor organization involved.

INJUNCTION SETTLEMENTS

"The injunction is to be issued," he said, "regardless of the righteousness of the union's position or the cause or motivation for the strike."

"An injunction settles nothing. It produces no materials. It interferes with the orderly and constructive process of collective bargaining by infuriating the labor organization as a red flag irritates a bull."

"It prejudices the controversy in favor of the employer regardless of the real or ultimate merits which cannot possibly be determined by any court hearing only the tentative arguments and unsubstantiated facts which attend any preliminary hearing."

As a second step, Green pointed out, 80 days after the use of the injunction weapon, the government can seize the plant of the employer and also the property of the union, "and this without any regard to the merits

(Continued on Page 6)



Who's To Bear The Armaments Burden?

By CALEB SMITH

(Caleb Smith, a member of the National Executive Committee, is a professor of economics at Brown University.)

The real question to ask about the financing of government armament expenditures is not: Shall we bear the cost now or later? The real question is: Who shall bear the cost of this swollen armament race? The burden of any government expenditure is borne at the time it is made unless accumulated stocks of goods are used up or natural resources depleted. Borrowing instead of levying taxes does not postpone the burden. Borrowing to finance government expenditures, if it produces inflation, throws the burden on the people least able to bear it: old people living on pensions or savings, widows living on life insurance benefits, the unorganized workers, and all the people whose small savings are in banks, defense and war bonds or insurance.

The question is not when shall we pay for the armaments program but who shall pay for it. Our excessive armament expenditures must be curtailed or taxes raised to pay for the expenditures unless we are to be plunged into a disastrous inflation.

Last month the Government spent over \$100 million a day on the military program. This means that over \$100 million was paid each day to the armed forces and to the men and companies producing the tanks and planes and other war material. The money for this Government expenditure can be obtained in three ways: by taxing to get the money, by borrowing the money, or by creating new money. The way the Government chooses to get this money determines who bears the burden of these armament expenditures.

The men and machines which are producing war material cannot produce civilian goods at the same time. The steel that is used in a new tank is not available to make an automobile or a refrigerator. Thus there are fewer goods made for consumers than could be made if war material were not using the men, machines, and raw materials. Some one must get along with less.

Who shall it be? The workers in war plants get paid as much or more than they would have been paid to produce civilian goods. Profits before taxes have sagged only slightly, if at all, from the all-time 1930 peak. (The crocodile tears have been shed over the drop in profits after taxes.) Incomes in general are at an even higher level than in the past. If all this money is allowed to bid for the smaller quantity of civilian goods, the price of these goods must rise. The source of the more than \$100 million a day spent by the Government for the military program becomes important in this connection.

PAYING BY INFLATION

If the Government gets this more than \$100 million a day by taxing it or by borrowing it from the people who would otherwise have spent it for civilian goods, then their demand for civilian goods will be less and there will be no general pressure on prices. But if taxes are insufficient, the Government gets a considerable part of this more than \$100 million a day by borrowing it from people who wouldn't have spent it, or from banks who create it, or if the Government itself were to create it, then the prices of almost all things will rise. People will then get less because their dollars will buy less. The armament program will be paid for by inflation.

But why, you ask, doesn't the Government prevent this inflation with price controls? It might. Honest, vigorous price and wage controls with widespread rationing can retard inflation for a few months or years even when people have money they would

like to spend but can't. But, gradually, the controlled prices rise, black markets grow, the rationing becomes oppressive and, when the price control is abandoned, prices skyrocket. Honest price controls—not the loophole-ridden mockery in force today—could be used to hold down prices temporarily, but for a "peacetime" armament program of indefinite duration, more basic measures than price control are required to prevent inflation.

Prices are rising only slowly today not because of the ineffective price-control law, but because armament spending has lagged far behind appropriations so that taxes have nearly covered Government spending, and because many people have saved part of the money they earned and, directly or indirectly, lent it to the government. If the Government starts spending money it has not obtained from people who would otherwise spend it, then inflation will become a method by which the armament program is financed.

NEXT FALL'S INFLATION

The fact that during the first six months of this year (1952) the Federal Government will collect in taxes as much or more than it spends is closely related to the fact that prices are now rising only slowly. The fact that during the last half of this year, the Federal Government plans to collect \$5 to \$10 billion less than it spends is likely to touch off a new inflation next fall.

Inflation is the worst way to finance the armaments program because it places the burden on the economically weakest groups; the economically strong may even gain from it. The old-age pensioner; the widow living on the proceeds of life insurance; the unorganized worker for wage or salary; the person whose small savings are in banks, government bonds, or insurance; these are the hordes of victims of inflation.

And who are the few who gain? The merchants and speculators who are able to hold goods which are increasing in price by borrowing money which they can later repay in "cheaper" dollars; and the high income taxpayer who finds it easy in a period of inflation to convert much of his income into capital gains which are taxed at half or less the regular rate; these are the fortunate few who find that inflation is not only preferable to new taxes but may even be a positive benefit.

Inflation is the poorest way to pay for the armament program. Two other methods remain—taxing, and borrowing from people who would otherwise spend the

money they lend. If the armament program is financed by borrowing, eventually the bonds must be repaid and the money will be spent then instead of now. Today the Government is seeking lenders to replace those who are taking the money from their matured E bonds which were bought in 1941 and 1942. The maturity of E bonds sold today may come at an equally unfortunate time. Borrowing from people who would otherwise spend it today is a little better than selling bonds to banks who create deposits to get the money to lend, but it is a poor second to a policy of raising the money by taxation.

We must also remember that the raw materials, capital goods and men we use for armament cannot be used for producing consumers' goods. We must choose how much "butter" we want and how many "guns." To a limited extent we can produce more and thus have more "guns" without giving up "butter." We should make every effort to increase productivity but we must recognize that increased productivity alone cannot carry the burden of the sort of armament program Congress has voted.

Furthermore, increased productivity does not remove the necessity for getting the dollars to pay for the armament program. Increased productivity means increased incomes from which the larger taxes may be obtained with less need for the people giving up the standard of living they have previously had, but the dollars for the military spending of the government must be obtained somewhere.

The American people must be made to realize that there is no way to evade paying for the special goods and services that constitute the armament program. A properly designed tax program will get the funds to pay for these goods and services more fairly than any other method. If we say that we cannot stand the taxes we are saying that we cannot stand the economic strain of an armament program on the present scale. Whatever arms we decide to have must be paid for with dollars obtained by borrowing, by money creation, or by taxation. Whatever the level of military expenditure, the United States may decide upon, someone must do without an equivalent amount of civilian goods. The burden can be most fairly distributed by taxes.

SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

The following proposals are not the outline of a tax program for a socialist government. They are proposals that should be adopted immediately by a democratic capitalist government.

1. The loopholes and inequities which have been repeatedly pointed out should be removed from the tax laws.

Among these loopholes, the most important are: (a) The preferential treatment granted capital gains which is at present outrageous. The fact that a capital gain may represent the income of many years could be adequately allowed for by letting the taxpayer divide his capital gain by the number of years the asset was held, calculate the tax on this as the last increment to his income for the current year, and then multiply the tax thus calculated by the number of years the asset was held;

(b) The tax exemption extended to the interest paid on the bonds of states and municipalities. This income should be taxed in the same way as any other income;

(c) The special percentage depletion allowances on oil and natural gas wells and other mining, which should be abolished.

(d) The wasteful and excessive advertising and entertainment expenses of business. The expenses of entertainment or of gifts to customers or supplies should not be deductible from the corporate income or the income of the individual employee. In order to bring advertising expenditures down to more reasonable levels the advertising expense should be made only 50% deductible from the total revenue of the business in arriving at net income. This would mean that about two-thirds of the cost of advertising would be borne by the business and only about one-third would be borne by the government in the form of reduced taxes instead of the present situation under which two-thirds of most corporate advertising expenditures are paid for by the government through reduced tax receipts.

(e) Capital gains taxes for corporations. The concept of capital gains taxation at a lower rate is anomalous when applied to corporations because the corporate income tax has little progressivity. All provisions for special treatment of capital gains made by corporations should be abolished. In particular, sub-section j of Section 117 of the Revenue Code should be repealed. This sub-section, first introduced in the 1942 Act, provides that when depreciable assets of corporations which have been over-depreciated are sold at a profit the gain is not subject to regular income tax but is subject only to the much lower capital gains rate.

2. Most of the additional revenue which unfortunately must be raised somehow if our present swollen armament expenditures are to be continued and some revenue currently being raised by other taxes should be collected through increased individual income taxation. This increased revenue cannot be obtained entirely or even predominately by raising the tax rates of the rich, because even if all the income presently subject to tax in excess of \$10,000 after exemptions and deductions were taken by taxes, less than 4 billion of additional revenue would be obtained. It can and should be obtained from the middle income brackets.

These proposals are made as follows:

First, income appropriate to the tax rate structure should be introduced in 1946 of income provisions. This could be done by making each tax bracket apply to a fixed amount of income (e.g. \$1,000) or \$2,000. Since the husband and wife each report half of the joint income the rate for the bracket would apply to the 1948 amount of family income. For the higher income brackets where the bracket is now \$10,000 or \$6,000 or \$10,000 the brackets would also be fixed. The effect of this would be to make the tax as progressive as it was before the split income provisions were enacted. In order not to place an unfair burden on widows and widowers with children and other heads of a family the full benefits of the split income provisions should apply to any head of a family. Over three billion dollars could be raised by this measure.

Second, as further revenue is needed, the rate of tax for the new second tax bracket should be raised as much as necessary up to 40 per cent (the second tax bracket is on family income in excess of exemptions and deductions of \$2,000 to \$4,000 or individual income from \$1,000 to \$2,000 in excess of exemptions and deductions, i.e. for a family of four this tax rate would apply on that part of income between \$4,890 and \$7,110 per year); in the third tax bracket the rate should be correspondingly raised to a limit of 45 per cent; in the fourth bracket to 50 per cent; in the fifth bracket to 52 per cent; in the sixth to 54 per cent, and so on.

A TAX QUESTION

The corporation income and excess profits tax poses a serious problem for all people who are concerned with the welfare of the people of the United States. The corporation income taxes collected in the first instance from the greatest aggregations of wealth in the country. But because of the possibility of raising prices to the consumer, these taxes have been largely passed on to the public. Thus, these taxes have become largely a burden on the public.

If the corporate income and excess profits tax are passed on to the public, increases in these taxes are undesirable and should not be made. On the other hand, there is reason to doubt whether decreases in the general level of corporate taxes would be passed on as price decreases. We are thus in a situation not of our own choosing which cannot be solved within the framework of capitalism.

As long as businesses can pass on to the consumer increases in corporate taxes, as they can in capitalism, there is no parent solution to the problem. Only under socialism can the profits of business be removed. In the meantime, we must recognize that increases in the corporate taxes are undesirable. The possibility of lowering these taxes should be considered if it can be found that will simply benefit the wealthy shareholders.

Report From France

A Fresh Start For Free Trade Unionism

By ROBERT BERGIER

(Robert Bergier is the pseudonym of a writer who has been a close student of the French labor movement.)

The principal May Day demonstration here in Paris was sponsored by the Communist Party and the CGT, (General Confederation of Labor), the largest of France's three nationwide trade union centers. In 1947 the CP consolidated its control of the CGT, and it has been the party's centrally-controlled industrial arm ever since. Tens of thousands of workers, Parisians and residents of the big industrial belt that surrounds Paris, marched in the parade or crowded along its traditional route. It was an impressive demonstration of Communist organizational strength, but there was no spirit in this vast throng of workers and young middle class people.

To understand this paradox—the mass support by apathetic workers of a pseudo-revolutionary party, controlled by a foreign power—is to understand the history of the French working class since 1944. Eight years ago, the French working class was superficially united. All class-conscious workers, save a few in the Catholic Workers Union (CFTC) belonged to the CGT. Its ranks numbered over 5,000,000. Parelleling this trade union unity was political cooperation between the French Socialist Party (SFIO) and the CP.

That unity was first broken by the CP when it, to the dismay of the SFIO, relaxed its pressures on the de Gaulle government in the 1944-1945 winter in exchange for a Franco-Russian military alliance, and permission for CP leader Maurice Thorez, technically a deserter from the French army, who had been living in Moscow, to return to France.

THE CONSERVATIVE LINE

Thorez's return marked the beginning of an extremely conservative policy by the CP. Its Communist faction, already dominant among the top leadership, persuaded the unions to cooperate almost without reservations in reconstruction and productivity campaign. This policy was in force for over two years. That France's recovery from the war required union cooperation is beyond dispute. But the CP-CGT

policy line disregarded the elementary needs and demands for justice of the workers.

Thus, the SFIO and the CP, both members of the successive coalition governments, advocated economic policies which, if pursued by the government, might have kept wages and prices on a par. But they failed to achieve either that or the lifting of the war-time prohibition on free collective bargaining. In this atmosphere the CGT became more and more a political adjunct of the CP whose propaganda and organizational techniques protected it from the full consequences of its failure.

The first open revolt in trade union ranks against Stalinist control in the CGT, and the party's bondage to its determination to stay in the government came not from the right, the "reformists" or "class-collaborationists" but from the left—the anarcho-syndicalists, militant socialists, and the Trotskyites. A number of small "autonomous" unions were set-up and while their membership remained small their influence among the workers grew rapidly.

Meanwhile, in 1947 tensions between the Communist ministers and other members of the government were deepening as the "cold war" developed. The mighty Communist machine commanding the nominal support of

nearly 30% of the population was in the awkward position of losing its influence over the government's foreign policy—the point of most concern to its bosses in Moscow—and, at the same time facing a threat from the left within the French working class movement. Finally, in March, 1947, when workers at the big Renault auto plant struck, against CGT orders, the party, on second thought, endorsed the strike. Since Renault was a nationalized plant this gave the government an opportunity to demand the resignation of Communist ministers.

Although the CP made no secret of its desire to get back into the government, France's eagerness to join in the Marshall Plan—against Soviet wishes—resulted in the CP's becoming an opposition party. Late that same year, the CGT called for a general strike. It was clear that its aim was to support the Russian policy of retarding European economic recovery. Jouhaux, Bothereau, Neumeyer, Sinot and other non-Communist trade union veterans, led their followers out of "the old house" and organized the CGT-Force Ouvriere along with most of the autonomous unions that had already left the CGT.

A year later the Communists called another political strike, this time limited to the coal fields. It was their last successful attempt to use industrial action on behalf of Stalin. While it has remained the largest trade union body, the CGT has become a CP political propaganda purveyor almost to the exclusion of its trade union function.

REJECT POLITICAL STRIKES

The tragedy of French labor is that for the past four or five years, workers who refused to be swindled into foredoomed political strikes, have not rallied to the standard of democratic trade unions. The combined strength of all three trade unions today is not much over half that of the CGT in 1945.

Although collective bargaining was reinstituted nearly three years ago, the unions have not been strong enough to take full advantage of it. Government agreement to their proposals is still, in fact, necessary. And the French Government has been drifting steadily to the right. Today, one feature of Premier Pinay's attempt to solve France's deep-seated economic problems by a conservative deflationary budget is a full stop on wage increases.

Many criticisms, some of them valid, of the policies of the leaders of Force Ouvriere, and of the SFIO, have been made. But when the International Confederation

of Free Trade Unions, to which FO is affiliated, surveyed the weaknesses of French unionism, one factor stood out glaringly: the scarcity of trained men in the plants and in the lower echelons of union leadership. So, the ICFTU decided one of the first projects to be financed by its regional organizing fund must be a training school for local union leaders.

Sir Vincent Tewson, who is President of the ICFTU, J. H. Oldenbrook, General Secretary, Victor Reuther, the American CIO European Representative who is also chairman of the ICFTU's Education Committee and Hans Gottfurcht, ICFTU Education Director, had a series of discussions with FO leaders. There emerged detailed plans for down to earth courses in collective bargaining, organizing and propaganda techniques, grievance processing, and other elementary trade union tasks. French teachers affiliated to FO, as well as trade union officials, were keen to help such a school get started.

A site for it was acquired when the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions and the Swedish Social Democratic Party, offered to lend their chateau, La Breviere, about 30 miles from Paris.

This spring three classes, miners, transport workers, and "met-alaux" (engineering and steel workers) have passed through La Breviere. Each group has gotten two weeks of intensified training in basic trade unionism. These students will be the spearheads of the organizing drives in these key industries which

FO, with the support of the ICFTU and the International trade secretariats, will teach this year.

It would be silly to say that La Breviere and FO's organizing drive will rapidly solve all the problems of France, a country where the workers' real wages are not much over half what they were in 1930. But in time, La Breviere graduates can be available when their comrades rally to rebuild the French trade union movement.

On May Day, 1952, while Communist leaders sat pompously on a reviewing stand watching their followers march by, Leon Jouhaux sat underneath the trees in the forest that surrounds La Breviere talking with the fifty metal workers who made up the last class in La Breviere's trial run. Unlike the Communist masses at Place de la Bastille, these young workers know that their fate is in their own hands and that free trade union comrades throughout the world are looking to them to herald the rejuvenation of French democracy.

It is trade unionism and democratic progress, not dictatorship and slogans, which the bulk of the workers who have been supporting the CP want. The battle will be a long one. For France's reactionary capitalists the "patronate," will not hesitate to connive with the CP—or General de Gaulle—to keep the free unions weak. But, with the continued support of British, American and other democratic labor movements, the La Breviere graduates can win.

CP Loses More Ground In Swedish Trade Unions

STOCKHOLM—Communist influence in the Swedish labor movement has been further reduced following this year's trade unions elections. According to the press department of the Swedish Federation of Labor, the Communists retain a majority on the governing committees of less than one hundred of Sweden's 8,892 unions.

Last year they had a majority in 130 unions while just after the war the number was some five hundred. A few years ago, the Communists and their sympathizers had a board majority in ten to fifteen of the 325 central labor organizations. This year the number is only two, and both elections have been appealed.

The rank and file of Swedish labor has been very cool toward the call of the Communists, states Gunnar Dahlander, head of the Labor Federation's press department. About 53,350 Federation members occupy board seats in the unions, and among these less than 1,000 are Communists or sympathizers.

The membership of the Swedish Labor Federation increased in 1951 by 2.7 per cent to over 1,313,000, of whom 260,000 are women. Of the forty-four national trade unions, the one of the metal workers is the largest, with 228,000 members, followed

by the building workers union, which has 115,000 members.

Last year's wage agreements resulted in a fifteen per cent wage boost for industrial workers and an eighteen per cent increase for other groups.

The number of company councils rose to over 3,000. These conference boards with an equal number of members from the employers and the workers were created in 1946 after an agreement between the Federation of Labor and the Employers' Association.

Similar groups are found in the municipalities, the government-owned public utilities, and among the white collar workers organizations. The company council can debate all questions of interest to the development of the firm, the care of the workers, etc., except matters concerning wages and other problems regulated by collective agreements.

A company council can be formed at the request of either management or labor in any firm employing more than twenty-five workers. Together with council delegates in small places of employment, the company councils now represent 700,000 of the Federation's members. Last year the councils submitted more than 11,000 suggestions for improvement of production, etc.

Depression In Canada Possible, Says Coldwell

OTTAWA — A new warning of prolonged Canadian post-war prosperity may be coming to an end was sounded by CCF leader M. J. Coldwell in the House of Commons May 15. The CCF leader pointed out that first reconstruction and then rearmament in Europe had kept North American industry going since the war, that these factors might no longer be sufficient.

He welcomed the recent slight increase in the cost of living index but noted that it was "largely reflected in the loss of revenue in the agriculture industry." "Usually a decline in agricultural prices, thereby causing a rise in the cost of living, is a sign of some recession in the economy," he added. "I hope it is not the present instance." Coldwell was replying to claims by Trade Minister C. D. Howe that sky-rocketing investment programs were at the root of the post-war prosperity. Coldwell said that some economists had

"expressed . . . concern lest the world may be over-capitalizing and increasing capital equipment at too great a rate at the present time," questioned whether markets restricted by the re-entry of Germany and Japan to international trade would be able to absorb the products of North American industry.

Referring to continuing post-war prosperity, the CCF National Leader declared that Canada had had first a demand for goods and services from UNRRA, then from the Marshall Plan to aid European recovery and then "just as there was something in the nature of a slight recession falling upon the world, we had the regrettable outbreak of the Korean war and the demands of the new armament industries." NATO was supplying added economic stimulus, but he questioned whether it would be sufficient.

He spoke on the introduction of the estimates of the Department of Trade and Commerce.

The Real Challenge To Socialists Today

By LOUIS P. GOLDBERG

(Louis P. Goldberg is National Vice-Chairman and N.Y. State Chairman of the Socialist Democratic Federation, and former New York City Councilman, elected on the Liberal Party Ticket.)

He writes, "I am an intruder into an S.P. discussion, justifying his action by his hope of eventual and early unity."

Irving Barshop's article "The Challenge to Socialists in 1952" in the May 16, 1952 issue of the SOCIALIST CALL is a rehash of all the arguments which have been circulated in the past 10 years for the further emasculation of the Socialist movement in the United States.

Like the Communists on the one hand who seemingly annihilate an adversary with the charge of Fascism, and the McCarthyites who think they are effective in characterizing everything they disagree with as Communism, so Barshop attempts with one fell swoop to relegate our Socialist principles to obscurity by referring to them as "the dead hand of tradition and precedent."

I have not met an intelligent Socialist who takes the position that a thing is right merely because we so recognized it in the past, nor who advocates following Karl Marx, Engels, et al, merely upon faith. When we insist upon adhering to our principles, "the dead hand of tradition and precedent," we do so because they have been proven valid.

The thought is overwhelming that the acceptance of Barshop's position would mean the liquidation of the Socialist movement.

Says Barshop, "America today needs an equivalent of the British Fabian Society of the 1880's."

The error becomes obvious when we recall that the Fabian Society was not a substitute for a Socialist movement but a complement in an effort to draw to the Socialist movement intellectuals who required different organizational forms and different activities. The formation of the Fabian Society did not mean the abandonment of the Independent Labor Party, which later became the backbone of the British Labor Party. In fact, the British Labor Party, the Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society were co-existent.

SOMETHING DIFFERENT

Barshop wants something entirely different. He wants a Fabian Society without any Socialist or labor political party for which it would serve as an intellectual outlet.

Another overlooked fact is that we already have the L.I.D. which has often been referred to as the American Fabian Society.

Barshop starts his article very encouragingly. He states that "never before has America so needed a politically conscious force to invigorate and replenish social thinking and action." He points to "the link between organized crime and politics" which as Socialists we know is the result of our profit system. He calls attention to the fact that "business interests seeking extra-legal privileges who are willing to make illegal payments

to achieve their ends" are largely responsible for the evil.

But when it comes to the application of these excellent observations, Barshop goes awry.

Having concluded that the old parties are hopeless, he proceeds to advocate appeasement of those who still believe that it is possible to sit down at the political table with the Flynn's, De Sapio's, Sinnots, Roes, O'Dwyers (before his political collapse) and come out as pure as before such contact.

Along the line, Barshop prays for "the organization of a new political party based on democracy and devoted service to human rights." That is, in essence, a Socialist Party. But in the next breath, he deplores that "we persist in the illusion that we (the Socialist Party) are an electoral party."

He argues against waging political campaigns under the banner of Socialism. He asks, "Where are men, money and material support to come from?"

THE ALTERNATIVES

What is the alternative he proposes in addition to the organization of a Fabian Society?

1. Join the Liberal Party to convert that party (I assume to Socialism).

2. Freedom for the Socialist Party members "to participate in the liberal, progressive, labor political activity of today" in the A.D.A., C.I.O.'s P.A.C., L.L. for P.E., etc., all of which are pledged to cooperate with the old parties which Barshop had previously dogmatically decided "cannot be reformed."

Naively he argues, "Our activity alongside the members of these groups would place us in a position to work for independent political action." How little he knows the temper of those who seek political power or influence rapidly. I do not know what the conditions are in the other groups but I speak with knowledge of the Liberal Party, where one who persists in agitating for political independence is soon isolated, ridiculed and submerged.

Referring to this "boring from within" the liberal and labor groups, Barshop says "as this type of educational instrumentality, the Socialist Party would be doing intensive research, issuing literature, coordinating the activity of its members in the different organizations, evaluating political platforms, and candidates, and developing political programs for its members to propose."

Doesn't Barshop know that such activities are resented in the Liberal Party, the leaders

considering this as dual loyalty and boring from within?

But assuming the Liberal Party leaders permitted these activities, in the words of Barshop "where are men, money and material support to come from?" The activities which Barshop has outlined require as great expenditures as political campaigns with less opportunity to raise the necessary funds.

THE S.D.F. EXPERIENCE

The experience of the Social Democratic Federation which has tried out this policy is that it does not "win over and recruit" members. New adherents cannot be obtained by surrendering principles but by emphasizing the ideological superiority of our principles.

Joining with liberals and condoning their mistakes which we must if the relationship is to continue, ultimately results in being won over to them rather than converting them to our course, for they bring us into contact with power and influence both political and financial, as well as with the intelligentsia, which is more pleasant and comfortable than the impotence of a struggling Socialist movement. That is what happened to the S.D.F. in the Liberal Party.

I am not arguing that the S.D.F. was wrong in supporting

the Liberal Party. We had great hopes when it was organized. The error was in not maintaining the S.D.F.'s independence and in failing to keep itself strong and disciplined enough to retain the respect of the labor leaders in the Liberal Party so that its influence would be felt in the formulation of policies.

Permitting Socialist Party members to participate in liberal and progressive groups which "may move in opposing directions" merely because they "represent unorthodox political movements" is not good policy.

Unorthodoxy is not always admirable. It depends upon the nature of the unorthodoxy. Furthermore, distributing ourselves in various organizations moving in opposing directions would result in horrible confusion among socialists.

I cannot feel that an independent political party, based upon labor principles and a trend towards accepting a Socialist program, will arise primarily out of the present liberal and progressive groups. A sine qua non for the formation of such a new party is a reasonably strong, virile and influential Socialist movement which would tend to drive the labor movement into the political field independent of the old parties, as the I.L.P. in Great Britain.

Nowhere in the world has a successful labor party been developed without the leaven of a well organized socialist group.

NEED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Without such a socialist movement, attempts of the labor movement will be futile, groping and abortive. We must cooperate in such efforts, but make ourselves strong enough to prevent their control by careerists and adventurers, whose interests dictate unhealthy deals with the corrupt leadership of the old parties.

The position of Barshop in-

evitably leads him to a reference to Karl Marx's economic theory. He speaks of "the Lewis Corey of a new economic theory." He overlooks the fact that there is no socialism in Britain, Sweden, Australia, Zealand and elsewhere, merely a trend towards the capitalist system. A economy is the transition from capitalism to not the ideal society we have been working for. A mixed economy would perpetuate the motive rather than eliminate it. The "acceptance of a new economy" is truly a "changed concept of socialism"—a change wholly warranted and unsound. I showed in my articles in the SOCIALIST CALL, answering Lewis Corey some time ago.

The trouble with Barshop's thinking is that he does not treat society as a "developing organism." If he applied that thought, "a mixed economy" would appear as a natural and desirable development in capitalist society. However, can we stop there? Will a "mixed economy" last eternally? Is it possible for privately operated industries to compete for long with the socially owned, and not motivated by a desire for profit?

The mistake made by Barshop, and which is prevalent among some Socialists, is that the class struggle has ceased in the United States. The fact is that the class struggle has been considerably intensified since the end of World War II largely because of the greatly increased economic wealth of big business.

PRINCIPLES NEEDED

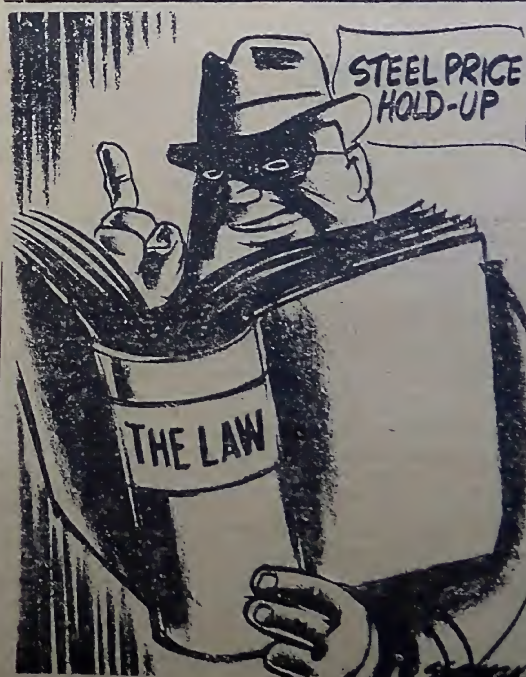
What Barshop desires to effect can be done in ways not requiring an abandonment of our principles. We all desire to get closer to the organized democratic labor movement. We would like to see a strong national labor party, similar to those in other democratic countries. But it cannot be done by helping our inexperienced labor leaders make mistakes on the political field.

We must organize ourselves so we can be sufficiently influential to help them avoid mistakes and pitfalls.

A Socialist movement must cooperate with all serious and sincere efforts for independent labor political action, on an equal footing with complete freedom to advocate our ideas, would command respect and be instrumental in charting a course beneficial to the working class.

Furthermore, I believe a strong Socialist Party would be an aid rather than a hindrance to the Liberal Party and other organizations in other states. The Socialist Party could and should arrange for the support of liberal and labor candidates, loyalty to labor principles, questioned and who are controlled by the old parties. A setup, would help the functions of the Liberal Party and soon earn the respect and gratitude of the labor leaders. Barshop's line spells disaster. Socialist Party is still the only hope.

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Associate Editors
AARON LEVENSTEIN HERMAN SINGER
NORMAN THOMAS
Contributing Editors: Lewis Corey, Erich Fromm, Patrick Gorman, Donald Harrington, Harry W. Laidler

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401

Books In Review

Number 509

SPARK OF LIFE. By Erich Maria Remarque. D. Appleton-Century. \$4.00.

The title of the latest novel by the author of "All Quiet on the Western Front" refers to the life that carries its concentration camp hero, No. 509, through the last few weeks of ten years of incarceration in Germany to his vengeful death before the liberation of the camp by the American army. This is very much a topical novel; Remarque unhesitatingly gains hindsight during six post-war years to prophesy latter-day developments through the mouths of his characters: the German reluctance to admit their collective guilt, resurgence of Nazi ideology, the Communist taking over of Germany for their own purposes, displaced persons "problem,"

Despite this anachronism, "Spark of Life" is an honest book. It is technically skillful, and the powerful descriptions of reality are fascinating. However, it is not a book of lasting value, though it is written out of a sincere sense of compassion. For, though "Spark of Life" is far from smug, there is a certain patness about the victory of the tortured human spirit, and the inevitability in the downfall of the wicked Nazis—in a word, a sense of triumphant virtue that moves the book from consideration as literature, and assigns it to liberal journalism.

Perhaps, the essential difficulty is that the subject is too large to be encompassed by rational humanitarianism. Perhaps, the classic religious return to human bestiality is the more appropriate one. The mediocre Jewish chronicler of a contemporary pogrom may have been right when he wrote: "We must relate all the beast did, we disgrace the image of God made in the image of God."

JACOB SLOAN

PRISONS AND PEOPLE. By Raymond J. Scudder. Doubleday. \$3.00.
The California Institution for Men at Chino, Calif., is probably the most famous of such things going on in the world. It is probably not as good as Scudder thinks it is. Mr. Scudder, after all, is the warden. Gardens have their own point of view on prisons.

Chino is what is called an open institution. That doesn't mean the inmates walk in and out at will but that the various buildings are scattered about on pleasant looking grounds, surrounded by a wire fence.

Many details work outside the fence and some are even assigned to fire fighting camps in the mountains. And on Sundays, an inmate's family can visit with him on the institution's picnic grounds.

Among the usual reforms which Chino has adopted with such apparent success is one not so usual. It practices no racial discrimination in its sleeping, eating, or training programs. This is a state tense with racial attitudes. The Federal Bureau of Prisons, which is ahead of most state institutions, could well imitate this feature.

The inmates of Chino were carefully screened. Their prognosis, as Mr. Scudder's parole chief would say, was good. Some of the credit goes to the nature of the men as well as the institution. For, when all is said and done, prison reform quickly reaches a dead end.

Institutions like Chino are all to the good and are generations ahead of the great stone prisons that squat, sullen and arrogant, all over America but we must do better than that.

For, as Mr. Scudder wisely points out, less than fifteen percent of all crimes known to the police end in convictions and of those sent to prison, practically all will return, sooner or later, to the society which, in more ways than one, is responsible for them.

STEPHEN SITEMAN

SHORT REVIEWS

CHOSEN COUNTRY. By John Dos Passos. Houghton, Mifflin Co. \$4.00.

In a number of quarters this most recent of Dos Passos' works has been reported as indicating a "come back" for one of the nation's outstanding writers. Actually, what Chosen Country indicates is that Dos Passos has never been away, a fact which points to quite an important defect in this work. In Chosen Country, Dos Passos goes over much of the same ground that he covered so brilliantly in his previous novels. And, while there is no doubting his talent as a guide, Dos Passos has chosen the same area before. The authentic feeling for the American scene during the first quarter of the century is again set forth,

FORUM and Agin' Em

Stalinist Problem

To the Editor:

No place among the capitalist press is there to be found a more ardent and confirmed red-baiter than the CALL. The blind hatred of the editors and feature writers' for "Stalinists," seems to supersede all capacity for rational thought.

They should certainly realize that the capitalists bear no greater love for them than they do for the communists, who happen to be the only force capable of effectively combating them at the moment.

After the socialists have helped them dispose of the communists, you can be assured that they will entertain no scruples against disposing of the socialist just as effectively and in the same manner.

The writer once pointed out to the editors of the CALL that they might well profit by the experience of the socialists in other lands, but the advice seems to have fallen on deaf ears. The antagonism of the European socialists toward all other leftist elements and their collaboration with the enemies of the people in their fight to exterminate communism has resulted in their being constantly relegated further to the rear, and the American socialists will suffer the same fate.

A pertinent example is the fate of the British Labor Government. Their collaboration with the European tyrants and the American capitalist warmongers cost them the support of the British people and resulted in a victory for the Tories.

Another good example is the Ben-Gurion regime, in Israeli. Their collaboration with the reactionary orthodox rabbinate and European and American capitalists has all but obliterated the once bright hopes of that little country.

M. L. PARRIS
Des Moines, Ia.

NOTE: It is unfortunate that our correspondent's reading of the CALL has been so selective. We have repeatedly reported that Socialists throughout Eastern Europe, which Stalinists hold in their grip, have been jailed and murdered simply because they stand for democracy, and the

but in the terms which Dos Passos has already made familiar.

A WALKER IN THE CITY. By Alfred Kazin. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.00.

Writing with insight and passion, Alfred Kazin in A Walker in the City gives a series of vignettes which describe the vague strivings and changing moods of an adolescent of twenty years ago, in the heart of Brownsville, one of Brooklyn's tenement areas. Sections of the book are written so that the sights and sounds of the area come through with exceptional clarity; at other times Kazin's style becomes so consciously literary that it intrudes on and blunts his effects.

HERMAN SINGER

right to exist as a political party. Wherever Stalinists have full control, it is the free labor movement and Socialists which have been "disposed of."

Our correspondent is in error, too, in his comments on the British Labor Party. That party received the greatest vote in British history in the 1951 elections, as well as a greater popular vote than the Tories. In addition, few objective observers would agree that Ben-Gurion has cooperated with the "reactionary rabbinate" in Israel—Ben Gurion is for a secular state—nor has he bowed to any outside pressure, either from America, Europe, or Russia.

Recommended Books

To the Editor:

Two books have been recently published which will enrich the literature in the field of social reconstruction.

Peter Smith, publisher, has issued a new addition of The Rise of David Levinsky by Abraham Cahan. This book by the late Socialist editor and founder of the Jewish Daily Forward, was a best seller in the '20s.

John M. Work, for many years editorial writer for the Milwaukee Leader (Socialist daily) and author of many Socialist books and pamphlets, has completed a book of essays entitled, Letters to a Lady. The letters, twenty-six of them, deal with many phases of human endeavor.

Both books belong in your library and every public library of the nation.

M. V. HALUSHKA
Chicago, Ill.

The War Issue

To the Editor:

I sometimes wonder if the present ineffectiveness of the Socialist Party in this country isn't due, at least in part, to the acceptance of the war by most of the Socialists. Generally speaking, the Socialists here accepted the last war and are supporting the present Korean war. I believe a person or group that ac-

cepts war has naturally to make many compromises with the system that produces wars, and compromising with a war system, I believe, leads naturally to ineffectiveness.

It is pleasant, in contrast, to read of the Socialists in India who are striving to bring about the fine ideals of socialism through the Gandhian methods of non-violence, and are succeeding to the extent that they are looked upon by some people as the one real hope of troubled India.

FRANCES MEYER
Schenectady, N.Y.

Children's Books Needed

To the Editor:

I am making this appeal in behalf of a struggling Negro library to your readers who have so generously helped us in the past. About six years ago I made a similar appeal, when this library was just started. Negroes are not allowed access to a tax-supported public library in this city.

The Negro library is at present housed in the administration building of the Government Housing Project for Negroes. We have about 2500 books, shelves donated by the city. A part-time librarian is doing a very good job for her people. She is paid a small salary by the city, which has also given us a few children's books.

We have a fairly good proportion of adult books, but our need for children's books is very great. The majority of the books we have were sent to us in response to the appeal made six years ago, and for these books we are very grateful. We now ask you to send us children's books, old or new.

Our present collection has been read and re-read, and there is a constant appeal for more.

Please address books to L. R. Halvorsen, Secretary, Negro Community Library Committee, 1329 N.W. 3rd Ave., Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.

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Calling The Shots

Germany Comes Back

By HERMAN SINGER

Even in the days of happy unanimity, when the late President Roosevelt returned from the Yalta Conference convinced that Stalin could be charmed into cooperation by sheer good will, it was obvious that one of the major prizes of the war would be Germany. In the nature of the German situation, the result could hardly be otherwise.

One of the most advanced nations in Europe in terms of industrial capacity, and with a highly-skilled and highly-organized working class, it was only a matter of time before Germany would again swing its weight in the international scale. The cold war, which ensued so quickly after the end of the hot one in which the United States and USSR were aligned against Nazi Germany, had the effect of speeding up the time table which permitted Germany to return to the international struggle for power.

The signing on May 26 and 27 of the new contractual relationship between West Germany and the Western Big Three does not give Germany complete freedom, but it restores a segment of Germany to partial equality among nations, at the cost of joining the West in an European Defense Community. It is the latter development which has probably been most difficult for the Kremlin to digest. Through its offer to meet with the Western powers in an effort to prepare a German peace treaty, repeated again on the eve of the signing of the contractual agreement, the Soviet Union has indicated that a new, and possibly decisive move, in the cold war is approaching.

Even without the fear of attack, which is used consistently as the major psychological bludgeon by the Soviet leaders against the Russian people, the prospective rearmament of Germany, under whatever terms, represents a shift in mass power which is hardly to the advantage of the Soviet Union.

This shift has so unnerved the Kremlin leaders that they are ready to flirt with the possibility of war in an effort to counteract the growth of European Defense forces in which, inevitably, Germany must play a leading role. It is this potential power that has set in motion the inflammatory speeches of East German puppet leaders, and brought into the open the activities of Colonel Zaisser, organizer of the so-called "police" forces in East Germany, which are actually full-sized army groups, made up of Wehrmacht veterans. And, since Stalin is never without at least one policy in reserve, the war talk by East German puppets is balanced by peace offers from the Kremlin. In the note issued before the signing of the contractual agreement, the Soviets said:

"It is just lately, as everyone knows, that the United States Government has been doing its utmost to accelerate the conclusion of the aforementioned separate agreements with Western Germany in the European association. . . . This signifies that the United States Government is interested . . . in linking up Western Germany and the Western German Army ever more closely than hitherto with the North Atlantic bloc of powers by means of new separate agreements, which is incompatible with the prospect of peaceful development in Europe."

While the Soviet leaders, possessors of a postwar record reeking with aggression, are in no position to discuss their contribution to the "peaceful development in Europe," it is also true that the American policy of heavy-handed insistence on bringing an armed Germany into the Western alliance has aroused widespread disaffection among the peoples of France, Germany, and Great Britain.

Socialists and other anti-Stalin groups in these countries, are fearful that American policy is now ready to accept with equanimity the possibility of a Third World War, the most fearsome future that the peoples of Europe can envisage.

In a sense, this fear arises out of the fact that American labor has played so negative a role in assaying American foreign policy. Unlike the British Labor Party, which continues, in opposition, to "contain" the bellicosity of a Churchill, American labor has offered neither guidance nor criticism.

This failure may, in the end, be as great a disservice to workers in America as it is to labor throughout the world.

'Peronistas' Launch New Latin American Trade Union Group

By ROBERT J. ALEXANDER

(Robert J. Alexander is author of "The Peron Era," a full-length study of Peronism.) The followers of General Juan Domingo Peron are now in the field as formal candidates for the support of the workers of Latin America. Early in February at a continental labor congress in Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, Peron's "Laboristas" launched what they called the Latin American Trade Union Unity Committee. This group will now challenge the Communist-dominated Latin American Confederation of Workers (CTAL) and the democratically-oriented Inter American Regional Organization of Workers of the ICFITU (ORIT) for leadership of the continent's trade unions.

This move has been brewing since the delegates from Peron's puppet General Confederation of Labor (CGT) were thrown out of the organizing meeting of the ORIT, held in Mexico City in January 1951.

The Asuncion meeting indicated that the Peronistas do not yet have a very impressive list of organizations under their control in countries other than Argentina, but they do indicate that the Peron government is going to invest a considerable amount of money and time in trying to build up a continental labor group under its control.

The Asuncion meeting was attended by workers who claimed to represent union groups in sixteen different countries. Many of the delegates represented only themselves. Others represented tiny "CGTs," named after the parent Argentine body, in Uruguay, Haiti, Costa Rica and Colombia. Other delegates claimed to speak in the name of the trade union organizations which repudiated them and their attendance at the congress. This was the case with the members of the Confederation of Workers of Colombia who were present.

SOME FOLLOWERS PRESENT

However, the Asuncion congress did indicate that the Peronistas, who have been working since 1946 to build up influence in Latin American labor, have obtained at least some followers in virtually every Latin American country. The majority labor groups of Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia were represented.

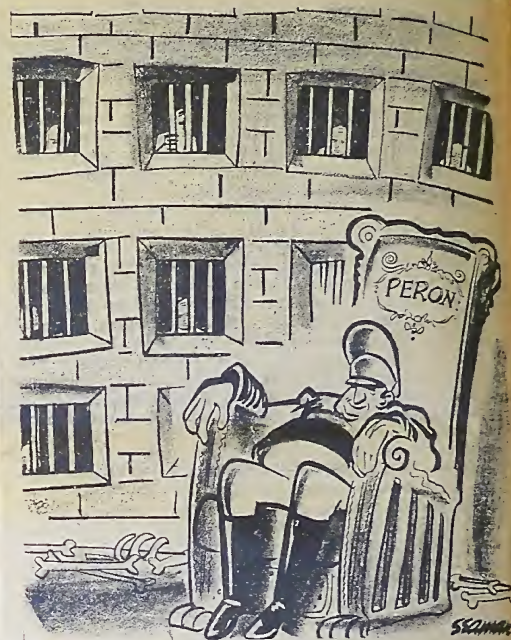
It is reported that the Paraguayan group, which acted as host to the meeting, only cooperated after being ordered to do so by the government of President Chaves.

The resolutions of the congress were interesting. Aside from establishing the framework for the new "Trade Union Unity Committee," they dealt with the problems of migration of workers from one Latin American country to another and with the possibility of labor tourism and educational exchanges among the countries of the region.

There were also a number of resolutions dealing with matters of international politics. One of these demanded the independence of Puerto Rico, accusing the United States of having "by military force" deprived Puerto Rico of her sovereignty. Another resolution endorsed the struggle of the workers of Guatemala against the United Fruit Company.

The fact that the congress should pick out that particular

"His Majesty's Opposition"



situation — in which the unions are under Communist leadership — for comment among all those available throughout the continent, is worthy of mention. Another resolution demanded the freeing of a number of jailed trade union leaders in Bolivia. The whole tone of the meeting was anti-United States, and although some of the delegates talked about the "Third Position" which General Peron has claimed he is taking, it is notable that there was apparently no discussion whatsoever of the Communists. All the abuse was concentrated on the United States, and particularly on the labor organizations of this country.

Condemn Anti-Union Bill

(Continued from Page 1)
of the dispute or the faults or culpabilities of the parties.

"If, in the name of defense, the very situation which I thought we were defending against is permitted, indeed prescribed, what, may I ask, is the sense in continuing to expend vast sums and great energies for defense against an outward foe when the inward foe has already accomplished all that we had hoped to guard against?"

ASSURED OF PROFITS

Under the receivership which ensues, the employer is "assured of business and profits as usual, with the officers and stockholders continuing to enjoy the full financial benefits of their ownership."

"The status quo under the receivership," said Green, "shall

continue indefinitely. That, in practical terms, means until agreement is reached on the employer's terms. The receiver, which is the government, is forbidden to make any change in wages and conditions of employment."

Under such conditions, Green pointed out, "there would be absolutely no motive for the employer to attempt a bona fide settlement, so that in the end the union would have no alternative but to come crawling on its knees for whatever crumbs the employer might wish to throw."

Since the Smith bill would hinder business or profits and actually restrict workers, the proposal, said Green, is a gratuitous insult to the workers of this country."

What Is "The American Way Of Life"?

By CARLE WHITEHEAD

Carle Whitehead, former member of the National Executive Committee, has been a frequent candidate for office on the Socialist Party ticket. (He is a Denver attorney.)

The United States has arrogated to itself the "American" and the term "American Way of Life" really means "The Way of Life in the States of America," so in discussing the "American Way of Life" we should begin with the beginning of the United States.

The Declaration of Independence was the birth certificate of these United States. Let us consult what our birth certificate says:

"We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men,"

"Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right—it is their duty—to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."

We come next to that document designed to establish a government to effectuate the principles expressed in the "birth certificate," pursuant to which the colonists had fought a bloody revolution. In passing, let it be noted that every one of the revered "revolutionary forefathers" who had been strung up for treason had they lived in that conflict.

What does the Constitution say as to its purposes?

"To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Then with its provisions for change by amendment, the Constitution could not get the approval of the necessary number of states—it could not go into effect—until the first ten amendments were agreed to and these are the amendments which expressly preserve the individual rights, the liberties, proclaimed in general terms in the Declaration—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assemblage, freedom of the press, freedom from searches and seizures without warrant, freedom from excessive bail and from cruel and unusual punishment. These freedoms thus became what is known as "conditions precedent," i.e., the preservation of these freedoms is ahead of the Constitution itself and the Constitution is of no force or effect unless these freedoms are preserved.

These fundamental, unalienable, human rights, named in the Declaration, for the preservation of which the Constitution was adopted and which the Supreme Court said the country was not worth saving—the human rights and liberties which are the very core of the true American way of life—are being, and for years have been, whittled away by "a long train of abuses and usurpations." Under such conditions the Declaration says that it is the right, it is the duty of the people "to throw off such govern-

ment and provide new guards for their future security."

THE TRUE AMERICAN WAY

Our forefathers threw off such a government by violent revolution. I do not believe that force or violence is either needed or would be effective. The re-establishment of the true American way of life will not be accomplished by force and violence but by an awakening of the people to the fact that under the name of Americanism, a way of life has been foisted upon them by our economic system which has displaced the true American way of life. When this awakening has taken place, political and industrial action can be taken, under the Constitution, to re-establish the true American way.

A great American, whose birthday we celebrate every year, stated the basis of the true American way of life in these words:

"Except the light and air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. . . . To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government. . . . How can government best effect this? . . . Upon this subject the habits of our species fall into three great classes—useful labor, useless labor and idleness. Of these the first only is meritorious, and to it all the products of labor rightfully belong; but the two latter" (useless labor and idleness) "while they exist, are heavy pensioners upon the first, robbing it of a large portion of its just rights. The only remedy for this is to, as far as possible, drive useless labor and idleness out of existence."

Who said that? Abraham Lincoln. In those passages Lincoln stated the very heart of Socialism and he stated the basis of the true American way of life.

BIRTH AND DECLINE

This nation was born in 1776 and passed through its infancy and childhood and arrived at its young manhood with the adoption of the Constitution in 1789. It then enjoyed its maturity and middle age for one hundred years and during that period of virility it did not feel the need of regulation, control, prohibition and suppression even during the war of 1812, the Mexican War and the Civil War (with the minor exception of the mild and short-lived Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798). That hundred years was a period of development and there was plenty of room in which to develop.

But by 1887 the decline began. We felt our economic life threatened by the growing and despotic power of the railroads and we set up the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate and control the railroads and the era of government regulation, control, prohibition and suppression began. The I.C.C. was set up to police the privately owned railroads and this was followed in 1890 by the anti-trust laws, giving to our Department of Justice the power to police big business and try to keep it from getting too big. Then in 1913 came the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission with power to police the competitive practices of all business.

Next came the Espionage Act and other prohibitory laws, both state and national, adopted amidst the hysteria of the first World War, but put into our statute books as permanent legislation enforceable in peace as well as in war. Yet during the Civil War, when the very existence of the nation was threatened from within and

the North was honeycombed with subversives called "copperheads," we were still in our prime and scorned to pass any suppressive laws as the espionage act and like laws enacted in the atmosphere of fear accompanying World War I. These laws gave police powers to the Department of Justice. Much more legislation of the same type has been enacted, such as, for example, the Smith Act, the McCarran Act and many other suppressive, policing laws.

Before World War I we had passed laws suppressing and prohibiting the adulteration of foods and drugs and the false labeling of foods and drugs and in 1920 we set up the Food and Drug Administration and gave it power to police the food and drug industry. Then followed "Prohibition" (since repealed). Then came the depression of 1929-1933 which so nearly proved to be our last illness and so frightened both government and business that, during the New Deal, World War II, the cold war with Russia and the Korean conflict, we have turned loose the police powers of government over both business and individuals in the desperate hope that this will prove to be the dope—the shots in the arm—that will prolong our national and economic life and maintain the status quo.

BEHIND THE POLICE POWER

The Socialist says that this accelerating reliance on the police power of government over business and over individuals during the past sixty-five years, is proof that the so-called free enterprise system, and the forms of government which police and maintain it, are both on the verge of senility and we shall pass into a completely policed state unless we awaken to the danger and, in the words of the Declaration, "throw off such government and provide new guards for" our future security.

Our jobs, our means of existence, are dependent on "free enterprise" and so we fear anything that threatens "free enterprise." Justice Douglas of the United States Supreme Court recently said that "fear has driven more and more men in all walks of life to silence. Fear of losing one's job, fear of being investigated, of being pilloried, has mounted." Socialists say that fear is not the true American way of life; that to perpetuate those conditions which drive men to silence through fear is not the American way.

The principles of the American way of life are unchanging, but the application of those principles, the preservation of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in a country of primitive agriculture and industry and with unlimited lands to be settled and developed, was one thing. The application of those same principles, the preservation of those same rights and freedoms, in a country which has experienced an industrial and technological revolution and whose lands have been appropriated to private use, is so different that to the superficial observer, it seems to be something new and different.

The word "radical" comes from the Latin "radix" meaning root. A radical is one who goes to the root of the matter, one who recognizes that while you can palliate and relieve by treating symptoms and results, there is no cure except the removal of the cause. This is true of our physical ailments and no less true of our social, political and economic ills. We may take dope to deaden the pain of a headache but we have not cured our ailment because we have not touched the cause. On the contrary, we have blinded ourselves to the fact that there is a cause and, moreover, we have started on the road to the dope habit.

(The concluding section of this article will appear in the next issue of the SOCIALIST CALL.)

As I See It

A Message From Asia

by Norman Thomas

Here I am staying with Frank and Helen Trager in Socialist governed Burma. A busy schedule lies ahead in the heat. From what I've heard, I incline to some optimism concerning an improving Burmese situation and the usefulness of STEM (Special Technical Economic Mission) with men like Trager working for it.

But I am not writing a travel letter so much as greetings to our Socialist convention and best wishes for its deliberations. Never was I more convinced of the need for strong democratic socialism in America for America's sake and the world's. And while I have not changed my opinion on the most advisable socialist tactics, I think that if the decision of the convention is for a campaign—as I expect—we all should go along to make it a good one for spreading the socialist message.

My travels confirm my opinion that there is no room for spiritual "neutralism" in the struggle between democracy—even imperfect democracy—and totalitarianism. In Hong Kong I spent terrible but informative hours listening to stories of what is happening to people in communist China. Read Edward Hunter's "Brain Washing in Red China." I met people with experience like that. I also met a group which was very anti-communist but critical of Chiang—if there could be enough of them, China would have hope.

BACKGROUND OF NEUTRALISM

Given the background of imperialism and colonialism, it's easy to understand Asian desire for "neutralism." One must support Asian desire to keep out of world war. That would be better if non-communist Asians would drop false ideas about communist performance which are all too common among them. Peace cannot be won by thinking that the communist wolf is a shepherd dog.

On the rearmament question, in the case of Germany, it seems from this distance and

on the basis of fragmentary reports that I should find the British Labor position in line with what I have been saying.

In Japan in various conferences, I have tried to make these points:

1—America has not the right to dictate rearmament to Japan. The Japanese must decide the question. It would actually be harmful to America if rearmament should be carried out by Japanese parties least sympathetic to democracy against the wishes of its friends.

HOPE IN DISARMING

2—The hope of the world is universal disarmament under a strengthened UN. It is doubtful if any strong nation like Japan can indefinitely remain disarmed in an armed world. All of us should crusade for universal disarmament.

3—But the immediate rearmament of Japan is not itself a guarantee of peace. Insofar as military factors deter Stalin from world war, it is fear of general war, of American power, that operates. In Japan he is going to try interpenetration and possibly an ultimate coup (somewhat as in Czechoslovakia) rather than invasion. Ideologically rearmament now, especially under American pressure, might help the communist cause. It might create a militarist or communist tension in which democratic forces would be badly squeezed.

It all adds up to this: It is mankind's most immediate and most important business to get rid of armaments and war as ways of settling disputes but on terms consistent with the protection of those human decencies which the present "anti" campaigns in communist China so terribly deny. There must be peace with freedom or else there won't be true or lasting peace. Even a crusade for proper universal disarmament would tend to check Stalin and improve America's ideological position and reputation here in Asia.

"Good for the Land"



CCNY Socialists Aid South Africans In Fight On Malan's Racism

The socialist E. V. Debs Society and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, both of New York's City College Evening Session, have started a campaign to raise funds for the South African groups using non-violent resistance against the racist laws of Premier Malan.

The drive was sparked with a rally addressed by Bayard Rustin of the F.O.R. and will continue through the summer. The fund raising has also been successful.

Leaflets are available in quantity from the N.Y. District of the Young People's Socialist League. They carry the following message:

"The South African government, under the premiership of D. F. Malan, has for many years been carrying out a policy known as Apartheid, which means racial segregation in its most extreme form, as the permanent pattern for political, economic and cultural life of the non-European population in South Africa.

"At the present time there is rigid denial of freedom and equality for the non-white population. They have in substance no voting rights; and their 3,500,000 people are 'represented' by three white members of a white Parliament of 159 members.

THE NEW OPPOSITION

"Last April 6th, a campaign of non-violent non-cooperation against these unjust racial laws and practices was begun.

"The congresses representing the masses of the native African, the Indian and the Colored Communities have united in a single effort and formed the Joint Planning Council.

"Americans for African Resistance was organized to educate and rally support in this country for the struggle against Apartheid and for brotherhood and freedom in South Africa. It has received the support of those

persons and organizations sincerely interested in seeing democracy come to South Africa.

"The NAACP has also pledged unqualified support to this campaign.

"You can demonstrate how much democracy means to you by supporting this campaign and by

"1. sending messages of solidarity to:

"Dr. James Moroka, President-General, African National Congress, P.O. Box 37, Thaba Nchu, Orange Free State, South Africa.

"Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, South African Indian Congress, P.O. Box 2943, Johannesburg, South Africa.

"2. sending telegrams to the Embassy of the Union of South Africa, Washington, D. C., and to the Permanent Delegation of the Union of South Africa to the United Nations, 655 Madison Ave., N.Y. 21, N.Y., supporting the demands of the African people for the repeal of the government's discriminatory laws and regulations.

"3. Contributing to the fund-raising campaign of the CCNY Committee for South Africa, sponsored by the NAACP, the E. V. Debs Society, and supported by all organizations on campus."

Eye-Witness Reports On Asia

Hear...

Norman Thomas

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